

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ADP-00 NSC-10 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 INR-10

NSAE-00 RSC-01 EB-03 OMB-01 TRSE-00 L-02 PRS-01 EA-13

CIEP-01 RSR-01 PM-03 DODE-00 /071 W

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R 010630Z AUG 73

FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1747

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS UNN

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 THE HAGUE 3345

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, EC, NL

SUBJECT: DUTCH VIEWS ON JULY 23 EC FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING

REF: (A) LONDON 8701 (B) COPENHAGEN 1690 (C) BONN 10595

(D) BRUSSELS 4258

1. SUMMARY: DIRECTOR GENERAL, EUROPEAN COOPERATION, DUTCH FOREIGN MINISTRY (HARTOGH), WHO CHARACTERIZED COPENHAGEN AND BRUSSELS MEETINGS AS EXTREMELY DIFFICULT, PROVIDED SAME GENERAL SUMMARY REPORTED REFTELS. HOWEVER, HE WAS CONSIDERABLY LESS OPTIMISTIC THAN HIS COLLEAGUES IN BRUSSELS, LONDON AND BONN ABOUT MEASURABLE PROGRESS IN THOSE SESSIONS. GON WAS CLEARLY FRUSTRATED BY LACK OF SUBSTANTIVE PROGRESS OR GENUINE DECISIONS
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AND DOUBTS THERE IS SUFFICIENT TIME TO ADEQUATELY PREPARE FOR MEANINGFUL MEETING WITH PRESIDENT IN FALL. HARTOGH WAS DEPRESSED BY LACK OF UNITY AMONG THE NINE. HE SAID FRENCH HAVE YET TO DIGEST ENLARGEMENT. THE REST OF THE NINE REMAIN BASICALLY UNCER-

TAIN AS TO EXACTLY WHAT THE FRENCH WANT. THOUGH HARTOGH FEELS EUROPE IS CLEARLY NOT READY FOR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT, HE IS AWARE OF PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS IN FAVOR OF THIS MEETING. HE FEELS CERTAIN GON WILL WORK TO ENSURE THAT IT IS NOT AS MUTUALLY DISAPPOINTING TO THE PARTICIPANTS AS DUTCH FEAR IT WILL BE. END SUMMARY.

2. IN ABSENCE (ON HOLIDAY) OF POLITICAL DIRECTOR, MFA (VAN LYNDEN) AND HIS SPECIAL ASSISTANT (VAN EEKELEN), USUAL SOURCES FOR EMBASSY REPORTING THIS SUBJECT, EMBOFFS CALLED ON KAREL HARTOGH, DIRECTOR GENERAL OF EUROPEAN COOPERATION AND AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE TO NATO, WHO ATTENDED SESSION. HARTOGH PROVIDED THE GENERAL DETAILS TRANSMITTED REFTELS. HARTOGH SAID GON WAS DISAPPOINTED BY NINE'S FAILURE TO ADOPT AGENDA OF CONCRETE POINTS NINE CAN DISCUSS WITH PRESIDENT DURING HIS UPCOMING EUROPEAN VISIT. HARTOGH TERMED ARGUMENTS OF FORA IN WHICH PRESIDENT WILL MEET VARIOUS EUROPEAN LEADERS ESPECIALLY DEPRESSING. HARTOGH SAID SINCE THERE NO EUROPEAN EQUIVALENT TO PRESIDENT IT WOULD OBVIOUSLY BE BETTER FOR PRESIDENT TO VISIT NINE INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES IN HIS YEAR OF EUROPE BUT APPRECIATED THIS WAS IMPOSSIBLE. HE NOTED POINTEDLY, HOWEVER, SESSION WITH BENELUX WOULD KILL THREE BIRDS WITH ONE STONE AND SAVE SOME TRAVEL.

3. HARTOGH FELT NO ONE IN COPENHAGEN OR BRUSSELS MEETINGS REALLY HAD ANY COMPREHENSIVE IDEAS ON HOW EUROPEANS SHOULD APPROACH THEIR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT. HE SAID THERE WERE OBVIOUS PROBLEMS THAT SHOULD BE ONLY CONSIDERED BY NINE AND OTHER PROBLEMS WHICH SHOULD ONLY BE CONSIDERED BY NATO, BUT HE SUSPECTED THIS MIGHT NOT BE WHAT USG WANTED, I.E. THAT WE WANTED A BROADER FOCUSED DISCUSSION OF GAMUT OF EUROPEAN-AMERICAN PROBLEMS. HARTOGH SAID MORE COMPREHENSIVE FORUM FOR US-EUROPEAN MEETING WAS OECD, BUT HE SUSPECTED THE USG DID NOT PARTICULARLY CARE FOR THIS BODY AND ON REFLECTION THOUGHT THE NEUTRALS MIGHT OBJECT TO IT TOO. HARTOGH NOTED ONE ADVANTAGE OF OECD WAS THAT IT INCLUDED THE JAPANESE. HE SAID HE WAS RATHER SURPRISED IN VIEW OF THE KISSINGER SPEECH AND THE CONCERN WITH JAPANESE THAT NO ONE MENTIONED THEM OR SEEMED CONCERNED ABOUT HOW THEY CONFIDENTIAL

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MIGHT PARTICIPATE IN UPCOMING SESSION.

4. IN ADDITION TO PROBLEM OF FORA IN WHICH EUROPE AND PRESIDENT WILL MEET, HARTOGH RAISED QUESTION OF LEVEL OF OFFICIAL MEETINGS. HARTOGH REHEARSED THE VARIOUS SUGGESTIONS IN REFTELS AND ALSO MENTIONED POSSIBILITY OF PRESIDENT ADDRESSING EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, BUT HE WAS CLEARLY NOT ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT ANY OF THE FORMULATIONS. HARTOGH THOUGHT USG REALLY WANTED A EUROPEAN SUMMIT CONFERENCE WITH PRESIDENT, BUT GIVEN FRENCH ATTITUDES, HE DID NOT THINK THIS WAS IN THE CARDS. HE ADVERTED TO POSSIBILITY OF COMMUNIQUE OR TWO COMMUNIQUES BUT IMPLIED THIS WAS NOT IMPORTANT SINCE COMMUNIQUES WOULD PERFORCE BE EMPTY.

5. HARTOGH DISCUSSED ROLE OF THE FRENCH, WHOM HE CHARACTERIZED AS "IMPOSSIBLE" ALTHOUGH HE THOUGHT JOBERT CAN DISPLAY MORE FLEXIBILITY THAN HIS PREDECESSORS. HARTOGH REFINED THIS SOMEWHAT BY SUGGESTING THAT IT WAS ACTUALLY POMPIDOU HIMSELF WHO WAS DISPLAYING FLEXIBILITY SINCE JOBERT WAS OBVIOUSLY A "PUPPET ON A STRING." HARTOGH SAID ONE OF THE MAJOR PROBLEMS IS THAT NONE OF THE NINE SEEMS TO BE ABLE TO FATHOM EXACTLY WHAT IT IS THE FRENCH WANT EXCEPT FOR THEIR OBVIOUS PREFERENCE FOR BILATERAL APPROACHES. HE SAID JOBERT HAD ARGUED A PRESIDENTIAL VISIT AT END OF 1974 WOULD MAKE FAR MORE SENSE, BUT THIS OF COURSE WOULD MEAN "EXTENDING THE YEAR OF EUROPE." HE WAS CONVINCED THAT FRENCH HAVE STILL NOT DIGESTED ENLARGEMENT, AND HE NOTED RECENT YAOUNDE SESSION IN BRUSSELS IN WHICH NOT ONE WORD OF FRENCH WAS SPOKEN AND WHICH HE SAID RESEMBLED A BRITISH-COMMONWEALTH MEETING. HE SAID ONE SHOULD NOT DISCOUNT TRAUMATIZING EFFECT THIS HAS ON FRENCH.

6. HARTOGH WAS MOST PESSIMISTIC ABOUT SHORT LEAD TIME BEFORE PRESIDENTIAL VISIT END OCTOBER OR EARLY NOVEMBER. HE DOUBTS CORRESPONDENTS, POLITICAL DIRECTORS OR MINISTERS CAN REALLY GET THEIR DUCKS IN A ROW IN THIS SHORT A TIME. IN ADDITION TO FUZZINESS OF EUROPEAN NEGOTIATING POSITION AND CONFLICTING DESIRES ON EXACTLY WHAT SHOULD RESULT FROM MEETING, HARTOGH NOTED COMPETING EVENTS SUCH AS TOKYO MTN, NAIROBI IMF, ETC. HARTOGH SUGGESTED ONE WAY TO ENSURE BETTER FOCUS FOR VISIT WOULD BE FOR DR. KISSINGER TO TRY "DRY RUN." EUROPEANS HAD ONCE THOUGHT SUCH VISIT WAS PROBABLE BUT HAD HEARD NOTHING ABOUT IT RECENTLY.

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7. EMBOFFS REFERRED TO DUTCH DRAFT DECLARATION AS INDICATION GON WAS TAKING KISSINGER INVITATION SERIOUSLY DESPITE THEIR DOUBTS ABOUT READINESS OF EUROPE TO DEAL ON ONE TO ONE BASIS WITH PRESIDENT. HARTOGH SAID DRAFT DECLARATION, WHICH HE SAID HAD BEEN PREPARED RATHER HASTILY, WAS A PRODUCT OF MINISTRY'S PLANNING AND POLITICAL DEPARTMENTS. HE CONSIDERED IT TOO VAGUE, BUT AT LEAST IT INDICATED THE GON'S WILLINGNESS TO RESPOND POSITELY TO KISSINGER'S INVITATION. WHEN EMBOFF NOTED EMPHASIS ON THIRD WORLD IN DUTCH DRAFT DECLARATION, HARTOGH SAID THIS WAS INCLUDED WITH VERY DISTINCT PURPOSE SINCE DUTCH WISH TO INDICATE THAT DEVELOPED WORLD'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THIRD WORLD AS WELL AS CONCERN WITH ENVIRONMENT, ETC, IS OF CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE TO EUROPEAN-AMERICAN PARTNERSHIP.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 THE HAGUE 3345

LIMDIS

8. EMBOFF SAID HARTOGH'S COMMENTS MADE HIM THINK OF "TWO BOXERS CIRCLING EACH OTHER IN A RING." HARTOGH SMILED RUEFULLY AND SAID HE SAW ONLY ONE BOXER--THE US. THIS WAS THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM. EMBOFF THEN SUGGESTED LACK OF POLITICAL WILL WAS PROBLEM IN TERMS OF CREATING NEW EUROPE. HARTOGH SAID WILL WAS NOT THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE. THE ISSUE WAS INSTITUTIONAL. WHERE COULD ONE TRANSFER SOVEREIGNTY? HARTOGH SAID WHEN HE WAS RECENTLY IN LONDON WITH FOREIGN MINISTER VAN DER STOEL, DOUGLAS HUME SAID BRITAIN WAS QUITE WILLING TO TRANSFER SOVEREIGNTY BUT NOT TO A BODY WHICH WAS INCAPABLE OF DECISION. HARTOGH NOTED PARENTHETICALLY GON HAD SUBMITTED ITS DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES TO NATO, NOT BECAUSE IT WAS NECESSARILY TO PROPER FORUM BUT IT WAS THE BEST ONE AVAILABLE.

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9. COMMENT: HARTOGH, WHO HAS BEEN DEALING WITH EUROPEAN INTEGRATION FOR THE LAST 11 YEARS AND TAKES UP HIS POSITION AS AMBASSADOR TO NATO JANUARY 1, READILY ADMITTED HIS RECENT EXPERIENCE HAD NOT MADE HIM MUCH OF AN OPTIMIST. SINCE HARTOGH DOES NOT ORDINARILY ATTEND EC POLITICAL MEETINGS, WE FIND HIS "OUTSIDER'S" POINT OF VIEW INTERESTING. UNLIKE TRADITIONAL ATTENDEES (POLITICAL DIRECTORS, ETC), HE MAY BE MORE SKEPTICAL ABOUT THE DEGREE OF POLITICAL PROGRESS MADE. FORMIN VAN DER STOEL WAS QUOTED IN COPENHAGEN AS SAYING THERE HAD BEEN AS MUCH PROGRESS AS "A SNAIL IN A BARREL OF TAR." HARTOGH SHARES THIS VIEW AS DOES NOT DIRECTOR VAN DER VALK, WHO TOLD POLCOUNS DUTCH REPORTING CABLE ON SESSION REVEALED "STAGNATION" ON COMMON POSITION NINE SHOULD

TAKE DURING PRESIDENT'S VISIT. DUTCH REPORTING CABLE ALSO TERMED
REQUEST FOR POLITICAL DIRECTOR'S REPORT BY EARLY SEPTEMBER A
COVER-UP FOR LACK OF PROGRESS. SENIOR OFFICIALS IN MFA FEEL
EUROPE IS SIMPLY NOT READY TO MEET THE US THIS FALL, AT LEAST
NOT IN THE PRODUCTIVE WAY THE US WANTS. MOREOVER, THEY FEEL NO
AMOUNT OF ACTIVITY ON OUR PART IS GOING TO CHANGE THIS SITUATION.
WHILE DUTCH BELIEVE THIS FALL IS NOT BEST TIME FOR MEETING
WITH PRESIDENT, HOWEVER, THEY CONTINUE TO RECOGNIZE CERTAIN
PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS IN FAVOR OF SUCH A SESSION. WITH
CHARACTERISTIC DUTCH PRAGMATISM THEY WILL WORK TO ENSURE THAT
THE MEETING IS NOT AS MUTUALLY DISAPPOINTING TO BOTH PARTIES
AS MFA CLEARLY FEARS IT MIGHT BE.
TANGUY

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